BAYARD TAYLOR IN NORTHERN EUROPE.

No. LXXI.

ST. PETERSBURG, AND ITS PALACES.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

ST. PETERSBURG, July, 1858.

No two cities can be more unlike than Moscow and St. Petersburg; they scarcely appear to have been built by the same people. Were it not for some of the older churches, which seem curiously out of place here, a traveler coming from the former city, would imagine that he had already left Russia. The strange, fantastic, picturesque, Tartar character has disappeared, and all that one sees is suggestive of Western Europe. This is but the first impression, however. The second is that of a power so colossal as to coerce Nature herself—a power which can only be developed when unbounded resources are placed under the direction of a single will—and herein we again recognize Russia. St. Petersburg is also a marvel in its way, and if the interest which it excites is of a totally different character from that which one feels in Moscow, it is no less imposing and permanent.

No man except Peter the Great would have conceived the idea of building a city here. Yet, if we leave out of sight the physical difficulties against which he had to contend, and consider not only the character of his ambition, but the inadequateness of any other site on the Baltic coast to meet its designs, we cannot see that he could have done otherwise. Had he selected Nijni Novgorod, as he first intended, the heart of Russian power would have been placed on the borders of Asia, still further from the influence of European civilization. Russia, in this case, would never have attained to a first place in the councils of European nations. It was necessary to approach the west. Finland and Livonia were at that time in the possession of Sweden, and Poland was still a nation. Peter's choice, therefore, was restricted to the shores of the Gulf of Finland. Here, truly, he might found other sites presenting fewer natural obstacles, but at the same time fewer natural advantages. The Neva, through which the largest lake in Europe pours its waters into the sea, afforded a ready-made communication, not only with Novgorod and Onega, but with a large portion of that Finland whose acquisition he even then foresaw, while the island of Cronstadt, guarding the entrance from the Gulf, offered a fitting station for his infant navy. The extreme high latitude of the new Capital was even an advantage: Winter was his ally then, as it has been the best ally of Russia in later times. And the wisdom of his selection has just again been demonstrated, when the combined naval strength of Europe lay before Cronstadt and did not dare to attack it.

But nothing short of that genius, which is the same thing as madness in the eyes of the world, would have undertaken the work. Here where the Neva, a broad, full, rapid stream, spreads itself out among swampy islands, completely flooding them when the Spring freshets have burst the ice, and where a strong south-west wind drives the waters of the Gulf high over the highest land the city stands upon, have arisen clusters of gigantic edifices, mountains of masonry, in their solid durability bidding defiance to the unstable soil. The marshy shores of the river are hidden under league-long quays of massive granite; millions of piles bear aloft the tremendous weight of palaces, churches, obelisks and bridges; and four grand canals, passing through and around the city, so tap the Neva of his menacing strength that the fearful inundations of former years cannot be repeated. One hundred and fifty years have passed away since Peter built his cottage in the midst of an uninhabited wilderness, and now there stands on the spot one of the first of European capitals, with a population of more than half a million.

The town was first commenced on the northern bank of the Neva, on the *Aptekarskoi*, or Apothecary's Island. In cold climates, a man always builds his house fronting the south. Very soon, however, the southern bank received the preference, on account of its convenience and its proximity to a little rising ground. At present three-quarters of the city, if not more, are south of the Neva, the remaining portion being scattered over the two large islands of Aptekarskoi and Vassili Ostrov. Those who know Berlin, can form a tolerable idea of those parts of St. Petersburg distant from the river. The streets are alike broad and regular, the houses high, massive and plain. But there is not the sameness and tameness of the Prussian capital. Even now, when the Court is absent, the fashionable world off on its travels, and nobody at home, it is as lively a city as one could well wish to see. Five thousand droshkies and as many carriages rattle hither and thither from morning till night—or rather, continuously, for you can see to read in the streets at midnight, and they are then by no means deserted. Where the Summer is so fleeting it is doubly enjoyed, and during these long, delicious twilights, especially, no one remains indoors who can get out.

The approach to the city from the land side is particularly tame. On such a dead level the first block of buildings shuts out the view of everything beyond, and even when you reach the *Nevskoi Prospekt*—the Broadway of St. Petersburg—and look down its vista of three miles, the only thing you see is the gilded spire of the Admiralty Building, at the end. On the Neva, only, and the Admiralty Square, can you get anything like a picture broad enough to copy and carry away in your mind. Proceeding down the Nevskoi Prospekt to this central point, you are not particularly struck with the architecture on either hand. Everything is large, substantial and imposing, but nothing more. Even the Annitshkoff Palace, which you see on the right, as you approach the Fontanka Canal, does not particularly impress you. The bridge over the canal, however, demands more than a passing glance. At each end are two groups in bronze by a Russian sculptor, whose name I am sorry not to know. They are called the Horse-Tamers, each representing a man and horse, engaged in a violent struggle for the mastership. The style of taming has no resemblance whatever to Mr. Rarey's, but the figures are very bold and spirited. The Emperor Nicholas presented copies of two of these groups to the King of Prussia, who placed them on the corners of the Museum front, in Berlin, where they have been shristened by the people, "Progress Prevented" and "Reaction Encouraged."

Continuing our course down the Nevskoi Prospekt, we pass in succession, on the right, the Alexander Theater, the Gostinnoi Dvor, or Great Bazaar, and the Cathedral of Our Lady of Kazan. The latter is built of gray Finland granite, with a circular colonnade in front, copied from that of St. Peter's at Rome. In the open space inclosed by the colonnade are bronze statues of Kutusoff and Barclay de Tolly. The buildings on either hand become more lofty and imposing, the throng in the street greater, and soon after crossing the last of the canals, the Moika, we enter the famous Admiralty Square—the grand center of St. Petersburg, around which are grouped its most important buildings and monuments. Here everything is on such a grand scale, that the magnitude of the different objects is at first not apparent to the eye. The Square is about a mile in length, by a quarter of a mile in breadth. In front of us is the Admiralty Building, with a front of 1,500 feet, and wings resting on the Neva, 650 feet in length. To the right of it is the Winter Palace, with 700 feet front, and still further the Hermitage, nearly as large. Opposite these two is the Hotel de l'Etat Major, of corresponding proportions, while the Alexander Column—a monolith of red granite, 160 feet in hight, including pedestal and capital—rises from the center of the square between. Turning to the left, we see the huge golden dome of the Izaak's Cathedral, lifted between three and four hundred feet into the air, and gleaming like a fallen sun on the summit of a granite mountain. The western end of the great square is taken up by the Synod and Senate Houses, whose fronts are united in one long façade by a sort of triumphal arch. Between them and the Admiralty, on the bank of the Neva, is the celebrated equestrian statue of Peter the Great.

Here are the elements of an architectural panorama of the grandest kind, yet the general effect is by no means such as one would anticipate, and simply because one indispensable condition has been overlooked—proportion. With the exception of the Izaak's Cathedral, there is not a single edifice in this square which is not much too low for the extent of its base. Hence, they all appear to be lower than is really the fact, and as they are of very nearly uniform hight, the eye ranges around the square, seeking in vain for some picturesque break in the splendid monotony. A skillful architect might have at least mitigated this fault, but those who planned the Admiralty and the Winter Palace seem to have been even incapable of perceiving it. The latter building is quite disfigured by the placing of a sort of half-story above the true cornice. On the other hand, the Izaak's Cathedral, of which I shall have more to say hereafter, is one of the very finest specimens of modern architecture in existence. It stands in the center of a small square of its own, opening into that of the Admiralty at its western end; and here, decidedly, is the most striking view of St. Petersburg. On one side is the Cathedral, on the other the Neva, against whose sparkling current and the long line of buildings on his northern bank gallops Peter on his huge block of granite; while far in front of the Alexander Column, soaring high above the surrounding buildings, is seen in its true proportions

Crossing the Square, between the Admiralty Building and the Winter Palace, we stand upon the bank of the Neva. Directly opposite opens the main branch, or little Neva, dividing Vassili Ostrov and the Aptekarskoi Islands. The river is here more than a third of a mile in breadth, of a clear, pale green color, and rapid current. At the intersection of the two arms, on Vassili Ostrov, stands the Exchange, a square building with a Grecian façade. To the left of it is the long front of the Academy of Sciences, then the Academy of Arts, and at the extremity of our view, where the main branch of the Neva turns northward into the Gulf of Finland, the School of Mines. In front of the Aptekarskoi, and separated from it only by a moat, is the old fortress of Peter and Paul, now a prison for nobles, with its tall-spired church, in the vaults of which rest Peter the Great and all the monarchs since his time. On the southern bank, on which we stand, a row of palaces stretches away on our right to the Trinity Bridge, beyond which we see the green linden-trees of the Summer gardens. From either shore of the river, or from the bridges which span it, the pictures are always broad, bright and cheerful. Splendid granite stairways lead down to the water, gayly-painted boats dart to and fro, little steamers keep up a communication with the further islands, and the miles of massive quay on either side are thronged with a busy populace. Here the midsummer heat is always tempered by a delightful breeze, and the very sight of the dancing water is cooling, under this pale, hot, quiet sky. I do not wonder at the enthusiasm of the St. Petersburgers for the Neva. Its water is so remarkably soft and sweet that they prefer it to all other water in the world. The Emperor Alexander always carried a supply with him, bottled, when he was absent from the capital. The stranger, however, cannot drink it with impunity, as its effect on an unaccustomed body is medical in the highest degree.

The Winter Palace stands upon the site of the old one, which was destroyed by fire in 1837. Kohl's account of this latter structure is worth quoting. "The suits of apartments were perfect labyrinths, and even the chief of the Imperial household, who had filled that post for twelve years, was not perfectly acquainted with all the nooks and corners of the building. As in the forests of great landholders, many colonies are settled of which the owner takes no notice, so there nestled many a one in this palace not included among the regular inhabitants. For example, the watchmen on the roof, placed there for different purposes, among others to keep the water in the tanks from freezing during the Winter, by casting in red-hot balls, built themselves huts between the chimneys, took their wives and children there, and even kept poultry and goats, which fed on the grass of the roof: it is said that at last some cows were introduced, but this abuse had been corrected before the palace was burnt." Fortunately, the new palace is not so labyrinthine, though of equal extent. During the residence of Nicholas there, 6,000 persons frequently lived in it at one time. Strangers are freely allowed to visit all parts of it, on presenting a ticket, which the major-domo gives on application. Formerly, the visitor was obliged to appear in full dress, but in the general relaxation of laws and customs which has followed the accession of Alexander II., this rule has also been given up. Our Minister, Mr. Seymour, also informed me that the Emperor receives American citizens in ordinary civil dress, not requiring them to appear in Court costume.

There is no other Court in Europe which, with such immense means and such magnificent appointments, preserves so great a simplicity. The freedom from ostentation or parade in the Imperial family of Russia, except upon stated occasions, is a very agreeable feature. Nowhere else does the monarch walk about his capital, unattended. The Empress, even, may take a stroll, if she likes. We met one day the *Czarevitch*, or Crown Prince, with two of his younger brothers, in a plain two-horse carriage with a single soldier as footman. These fine, fresh, handsome boys were quite alone, and looked as if they were competent to take care of themselves. The grandfather of the reigning Empress was a *Stallmeister* (Master of the Horse) in Darmstadt, and she is probably indebted to him for her prudent, amiable, sensible character. Nicholas was aware of her descent, but he wisely gave his sons perfect freedom to choose their own wives, and welcomed her as cordially as if her ancestry dated from Julius Cæsar. In visiting the palace, I was particularly struck with the cheerful plainness of the private apartments, which contrasted remarkably with the pomp and dazzle of those for state occasions.

To describe minutely all that I saw in the Winter Palace would take up several chapters. We were between two and three hours in walking slowly through the principal halls and chambers. A large number of these are devoted to pictures, principally portraits and battle scenes. A large room contains several hundred portraits of the officers who served against Napoleon in 1813-14. Then follows the Hall of the Marshals, with few and full-length figures, some of which are of great historical interest. Potemkin is here represented in full armor, a tall, Apollonian figure, over six feet in hight, with a fine oval head, regular and handsome features, soft blue eyes, and curly golden hair. Suwarrow is a short man, with a large benevolent head, very broad in the temples, where phrenologists place the organ of constructiveness. He wears a plain leather jacket and breeches, and resembles nothing so much as an old Quaker preacher. Barclay de Tolly is tall, slender, stern and thoughtful, with a prematurely bald head: Kutusoff short, thick, coarse and heavy-featured. In striking contrast with these personages is Wellington, with his cold, prim English face and small head.

The battle-pieces represent all the noted fields in which Russian arms have been engaged, from Narva to Inkermann—not merely an ostentatious display of victories, but important defeats as well, so that the series presents a true historical interest. Narva receives as prominent a place as Pultava, Borodino as Leipzig, Silistria as Ismail. Many of the later pictures are fine works of art: the illustrations of the Persian and Circassian wars, especially, are full of rich dramatic effect. Altogether, this gallery will compare very well with that of Versailles. One of the most interesting halls is that devoted to the coronation gifts received by Alexander, Nicholas and the present Emperor. The ancient custom is still preserved, of each province throughout the Empire sending bread and salt as a token of welcome. But the loaf is carried upon a massive salver of gold and silver, of the rarest workmanship, and the salt in a box or cup of the same material, studded with jewels. The salvers presented to the two former Emperors rise in dazzling pyramids from the floor nearly to the ceiling, but they are far outshone by those of Alexander II., who received just as much as his father and uncle together. If the wealth lavished upon these offerings is an index to the popular feeling, it is a happy omen for his reign. The taste, richness and variety of the ornaments bestowed upon the mighty golden salvers exceeds anything of the kind I ever saw. Their value can only be estimated by millions. It is significant, perhaps, that the largest and most superb, which occupies the place of honor, in the center of the glorious pile, is the offering of the serfs of the Imperial domains.

We were admitted into the room containing the crown jewels, which are arranged in glass cases, according to their character and value. In the center is the crown of Alexander, a hemisphere of the purest diamonds: beside is the scepter, containing the famous brilliant purchased by Catharine II. from a Greek slave, and for a time supposed to be the largest in the world. It turns out to be smaller than the Koh-i-noor, though (to my eyes, at least,) of a purer water. There is not a quarter so many jewels here as in the Treasury at Moscow, yet their value far exceeds that of the latter. The stones are of the largest and rarest kind, and the splendor of their tints is a delicious intoxication to the eye. The soul of all the fiery roses of Persia lives in these rubies; the freshness of all velvet sward, whether in Alpine valley or English lawn, in these emeralds; the bloom of southern seas in these sapphires, and the essence of a thousand harvest moons in these necklaces of pearl.

Before leaving the Palace we were conducted to a small room in the first story, in the north-western corner. Two Imperial guardsmen stood at the door, and two old servants in livery were in a little anteroom, one of whom accompanied us into the narrow chamber where Nicholas lived and died. Nothing has been changed since his body was carried out of it. The hard camp-bed (too small and narrow that I should not wish to sleep upon it) stands there, beside his writing-table. On a stool at the foot lies his dressing-gown. His comb, brushes, gloves, pocket-handkerchief, knife and pencil are carelessly laid upon a small toilet-table, under a very moderate-sized looking-glass. A plain green carpet covers the floor, and the half-dozen chairs are lined with green leather. The walls are almost concealed by pictures, either landscapes or battle-pieces, and few of them of any value. Just over his pillow is a picture of a very pretty young girl, dressed as a soldier. It is scarcely possible to believe that the occupant of this room has been dead for more than three years. Every object suggests life, and while we are examining them we half expect to see that colossal figure, which all Europe knew so well, appear at the door. The only thing which has been added is a very beautiful drawing of the Emperor's head, after death. The expression upon the face is that of pain and trouble, not the serene, impenetrable calm which it wore during life.

The Hermitage, adjoining the Winter Palace, was built by Catharine, as a place of escape from the fatigue of Court ceremonials, and of quiet conversation with a few privileged persons. The name seems to have been jestingly, or ironically given. Who would not be a hermit in this immense pile, whose walls are of marble, blazing with gold, whose floors of the choicest inlaid woods, and whose furniture the rarest and most costly workmanship in porphyry, jasper, lapiz-laguli and malachite? Such splendor is not now out of place, since the palace has been given up to the Arts. The vast collection of pictures accumulated by the Russian Emperors is here displayed, together with a gallery of sculpture, one of the finest assortments of antique gems in the world, a collection of Grecian and Etruscan antiquities, and a library of rare books and manuscripts. The picture gallery is particularly rich in the works of Reubens, Vandyke, Rembrandt, Murillo, and the Dutch school, and though it contains few celebrated master-pieces, the number of really good pictures is remarkable. They occupy between forty and fifty large halls, and a man cannot say that he really knows the collection in less time than a week.

B. T.

ARRIVAL FROM THE SPIRIT LAND.—A son of one of our citizens who left this port some ten years ago as a sailor in the bark Wade, which vessel was wrecked, was long since given up for lost. His father, however, corresponded with him through a spiritual medium, by whom he had the pleasure of learning that his son was in the spirit land, whence he received a message that "he was among the saints, and a crown of glory was awaiting his father." His confidence was, however, shaken in these spiritual revelations by the arrival of his son at this place on Thursday last. [New-Bedford Mercury.

AFFAIRS IN PRUSSIA.

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BERLIN, Oct. 16, 1858.

If the world in general knows nothing or little of the Prussian Constitution, it will, at all events, derive any desirable comfort from the great fact that the Prussian people itself gropes its way in the same dark ignorance. At this very moment, electioneering Committees in Berlin, Breslau, Königsberg, Cologne and all the other great or small centers of liberalism, are busily engaged in turning over the dry leaves of the Prussian charter, to make sure what legitimate arms of attack or defense, suitable to the purpose of the hour, may be snatched from that mysterious arsenal. These ten years over, while that charter pretended to be a thing of intrinsic value, a final result, a definitive solution, the bulk of the Prussians showed it the cold shoulder, caring about as much for it as for the laws of Menu. The very moment that a general feeling did spring up of circumstances having turned this official lumber into a two-edged sword, everybody appears anxious to get acquainted with "the Great Unknown." In official regions, on the other hand, there prevails a most uneasy feeling, lest the fruit of knowledge, in this case, as in the antediluvian epoch, may prove the fruit of sin; and the Constitutional mania, which has all at once seized upon the Prussian people, is looked upon with gloomy and I cannot but say well-founded suspicion. The Prince of Prussia, at this very moment, considers a *coup d'état* as a contingency he may be driven to before long. If the electioneering Committees should succeed in their scheme of recruiting the majority of the elective chamber from the liberal ranks of the National Assembly of 1848, from the Waldeck, Jacobi, Rodburtus, Unruh, Kirchmann, &c., the Prince would have to walk over again the same battle-ground Royalty seemed to have conquered in December, 1848. Even the mere breath and hum and clamor of reawakened popular life bewilder him. If he were to form—as advised by part of his own camarilla—a Cabinet Bismark-Schönhausen, thus openly throwing the gauntlet into the face of revolution, and unceremoniously nipping the hopes ostensibly attached to his advent, the Elective Chamber, in harmony with art. 56 of the Constitution and his own rescripts, might discuss the "necessity" of his regency. His regime would thus be initiated by stirring and ominous debates as to the legitimate or usurpatory character of his title. On the other hand, should he allow, for a while only, the movement to spread and quietly assume palpable forms, his difficulties would become enhanced by the old Royalist party turning round and assailing him for his having reopened the flood-gates of revolution, which, in their opinion, they with statesmanlike superiority knew how to lock up as long as allowed to steer under the colors of the old insane King. The history of monarchies shows that, in epochs of social revolution, there is nothing more dangerous for a resolute and straightforward, but vulgar and old-fashioned man, than to accept the inheritance of a vascillating, feeble and faithless character. Jacob I., to whom Frederick William bears the closest resemblance, weathered the tempest which threw Charles I. upon the scaffold, and Jacob II. expiated in an obscure exile those divine-right delusions which had even added to the strange popularity of Charles II. It was, perhaps, from an instinctive apprehension of such difficulties laid in store for him, that Prince William stubbornly resisted the proclamation of the charter by the same King who, in 1847, on the opening of the United Diet of the provincial estates, had pompously declared:

"I feel urged to make the solemn declaration that no earthly power will ever succeed in deciding me to convert the natural and solid relation between King and people into a conventional, constitutional one, and that I will never allow, never, that there intrude between the Lord in heaven and this country, a written bit of paper, a second providence, so to say, pretending to rule by its paragraphs, and supplant by their means the old, sacred faith."

I have already related, in a former letter, how the sketch of a Constitution drawn up by the Camphausen Cabinet and elaborated by the Revolutionary Assembly of 1848, forms the groundwork of the present Constitution, but only after a *coup d'état* had swept away the original scheme, an octroyed charter had reproduced it in a mangled form, two revision chambers had remodeled the octroyed charter, and innumerable royal decrees had amended the revised charter; all this tedious process being gone through in order to wipe out the last features recording the revolutionary offspring of the patchwork. Still this end was not absolutely obtained, since all ready-made charters must be molded more or less on the French pattern, and, do what you may, forsake all pretension at any striking originality. Thus, if one runs through Title II of the Constitution of January, 1850, treating of the "Rights of Prussians," the Prussian *droits de l'homme*, so to say, the paragraphs on first view, read well enough. "All Prussians are equals before the law. Personal liberty is guaranteed. The private domicile is inviolable. Nobody can be withdrawn from his legal judge. Punishments, save through the magistrate, in his legitimate function, are not to be held out by way of intimidation. Property is inviolable. Civil death and confiscation are banished from the law. The liberty of emigration is not to be encroached upon by the State, save with relation to military duty. The liberty of religious confession, of formation into religious societies, and private or public worship in common is granted. The enjoyment of civil and political rights is independent from religious confession. Marriages according to civil law only are to be allowed. Science and its doctrines are free. The education of the youth is to be sufficiently provided for by public schools. Everybody is free to teach and to found educational establishments. The direction of the economical relations of popular schools belongs to the communes. In public elementary schools instruction is given gratuitously. Every Prussian possesses the right of freely expressing his opinions by way of speech, writing and printing. Offenses, committed in this way, fall under the jurisdiction of the regular tribunals. All Prussians have the right to hold meetings if unarmed, and if gathering in closed rooms. They may form reunions and clubs for purposes not offending the laws. All Prussians enjoy the right of petition. The secrecy of letters is inviolable. All Prussians must fulfill their military duties. The armed force is only to interfere in exceptional cases legally circumscribed. Entails are by law proscribed, and the existing feudal property is to be transformed into freehold property. The free division of landed property is granted."

Now, if you turn from the "Rights of the Prussians," as they appeared on paper, to the sorry figure they cut in reality, you will, if you never did before, arrive at a full appreciation of the strange antagonism between idealism and realism, theory and practice. Every step of yours, simple locomotion even, is tampered with by the omnipotent action of bureaucracy, this second providence of genuine Prussian growth. You can neither live nor die, nor marry, nor write letters, nor think, nor print, nor take to business, nor teach, nor be taught, nor get up a meeting, nor build a manufactory, nor emigrate, nor do any thing without "*obrigkeitliche Erlaubniss*"—permission on the part of the authorities. As to the liberty of science and religion, or abolition of patrimonial jurisdiction, or suppression of caste privileges, or the doing away with entails and primogeniture, it is all mere bosh. In all these respects Prussia was freer in 1847 than it is now. Whence this contradiction! All the liberties granted by the Prussian Charter are clogged with one great drawback. They are granted within "the limits of law." Now the existing law is exactly the absolutist law, which dates from Frederick II., instead of from the birthday of the Constitution. Thus there exists a deadly antagonism between the law of the Constitution and the constitution of the law, the latter reducing, in fact, the former to mere moonshine. On the other hand, the Charter in the most decisive points refers to organic laws, intended to elaborate its vague outlines. Now these organic laws have been elaborated under the high pressure of reaction. They have done away with guarantees even existing at the worst times of the absolute monarchy, with the independence, for instance, of the Judges of the executive Government. Not content with these combined dissolvents, the old and the new-fangled laws, the Charter preserves to the King the right of suspending it in all its political bearings, whenever he may think proper.

Yet, with all that and all that, there is there a double Prussia, the Prussia of the Charter and the Prussia of the House Hohenzollern. To work out that antagonism the electoral bodies are now busied with, despite the difficulties thrown in their way by the electoral laws.

GLEANINGS FROM EUROPEAN PAPERS.

—The giant undertaking of tunneling Mount Cenis, one of the highest mountains of the Alps between Switzerland and Piedmont, progresses slowly. The difficulties of the enterprise consist not so much in the length of the subterranean communication which is to be effected, as in the impossibility of taking the work in hand at more than two points, and of the necessary supplies of air, at a distance of 18,750 feet from either end of the tunnel. All the other tunnels, which have been built, are connected with the surface by a series of shafts, which being sunk in distances of at most 1,000 feet, do not only multiply the point of attack, but facilitate and insure also the necessary circulation of the air and the ventilation of the workmen. This expedient cannot be made use of at the Mount Cenis Tunnel, for the shafts would have to be driven to a depth of 3,000 feet to reach the bottom, and the auxiliary works would have to be almost more gigantic than the principal structure. Shafts of that depth have not yet been sunk in rock in any other locality—to let alone the regions of eternal snow. Under these circumstances the tunnel is only worked from the two extremities; but though augers of a new invention enable them to drill blasting bores of a quite considerable depth, in which the powder is fired by electrical sparks, it has not been possible to complete more than 25 to 30 feet per month, even under the most favorable circumstances. At this rate it will take fifty years to finish the work, even without considering that the difficulties increase with every step it advances, as the necessary supplies of air, provisions, tools and workmen will at last have to be forwarded over a distance of 18,000 feet from the entrance.

—It appears from a return just published by the Russian government, that at the beginning of the present year the debt of Russia is $332,467,120. This sum cannot be considered excessive, the debt of France being $1,284,800,000; that of England $3,295,610,000; that of Austria $1,124,800,000, and that of Prussia $150,630,000. Thus Russia is the least indebted of all great states but one, and she is the least of any, compared to her population. In England, for example, the debt is equal to $143 for each inhabitant; in France $42; in Austria $33; in Prussia $11, and in Russia only $7. The sums employed by each state annually in payment of interest and in sinking funds is $142,750,000 in England; $102,240,000 in France; $68,640,000 in Austria; $30,000,000 in Russia, and $9,450,000 in Prussia. Russia is here again the last but one, and according to population, the lowest, in England each inhabitant paying $4 59; in France $2 38; in Austria $1 53; in Prussia 50 cts. and in Russia 48 cts. Finally, whilst in England the public debt absorbs 43 per cent. of the whole budget, it only takes 30 per cent. in Austria and France, in Russia 12 per cent., and in Prussia 11 per cent. According to the last annual report of the Minister of the Interior there are in Russia 88,000 noblemen who own each 1 to 10 serfs; 57,000 with 10 to 20; 30,000 with 20 to 100; 18,000 with 100 to 500; 2000 with 500 to 1000; 1400 with 1000 to 10,000; and five with 20,000 and more serfs each. The agricultural population consists of 9,000,000 serfs who belong to the crown, and 11,780,000 who belong to individual noblemen. The condition of those serfs who do not belong to a large estate is by far the worst. They have to work all their lifetime for masters whom their own poverty renders cruel; seeking a living in the larger cities as mechanics or servants, they have to pay to their owners a yearly body-rent, which very often exceeds their ability, and regularly leaves them nothing but the means of scanty subsistence. Skill and ability to work does not improve their condition, but only increases their burdens. The first attempt at emancipation was made in 1803 by Alexander I. By transforming the serfs of the crown domains into personally free farmers, he reduced the numbers of serfs from fifty to thirty millions; but the noblemen were not disturbed in their ownership. He soon stopped in his reforms, and Nicholas had to think of other things in the first years of his Government than of the peasants. These lost at last their patience, which had been tested so long. Already, under Alexander, they had perceived who it was that opposed their emancipation. When Nicholas also failed in conquering the nobility, horrible scenes were enacted in some parts of the Empire. Ever since 1842, insurrections of serfs formed a standing item of the events of the year—even the Ministerial reports did not dare to deny that every year sixty or seventy noblemen were killed by their peasants.

TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

From Our Own Correspondent.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 2, 1858.

The Hawaiian Kingdom, or, as it is usually termed in the newspapers of Europe and America, the Sandwich Islands, possesses a considerable interest for us, notwithstanding its small extent, population, and home trade. Its 65,000 Kanaka inhabitants do not produce or consume as much as many towns of 20,000 in New-England; but the Islands occupy an important position in the middle of the Pacific ocean for commercial purposes, and their climate of perpetual Spring may render them a place of great resort for pleasure-seekers at some future time. By commerce and language and geographical position, they are nearer to the United States than to any other country, and at one time, in 1854, they came very near to annexation, the King having declared his intention to sign the treaty for that purpose. Most of the trade of the Islands is in the hands of American merchants, Americans form a decided majority of the population, and American whale ships are the greater portion of the shipping which enters the ports of Honolulu and Lahaina.

A treaty of friendship and commerce lately made between France and the Hawaiian kingdom, has been the subject of considerable comment here, and may attract some attention in New-York and Washington. *The Commercial Advertiser* of Honolulu, a newspaper which looks at things from the American stand-point, makes a great outcry against the treaty, and denounces it as an outrage upon the rights of the Kanakas, with good reason as to some articles, and without as to others. The Commissioners who made the treaty were Monsieur Perrin, on one side, and Prince Lot Kamehameha and Minister Wyllie, on the other, or to quote the titles as given in the treaty itself:

"Monsieur Louis Emile Perrin, Knight of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honor, Consul and Commissioner near the Hawaiian Government;" and

"His Royal Highness the Prince Lot Kamehameha, General Commanding-in-chief, Minister of the Interior, Acting Minister of Finance, member of the Privy Council and of the House of Nobles; and Robert Crichton Wyllie, esq., Minister of Foreign Relations, Secretary of State for War and the Navy, member of the Privy Council and of the House of Nobles."

The treaty is a very long one, and much of it is a mere repetition of those general principles which we expect to find in all treaties of friendship and commerce. I shall only call attention to such provisions as are not usually found in such documents.

In article second, it is provided that French subjects

"Shall have the right to buy and sell of, and to whom they please, and without any monopoly, contract or exclusive privilege of sale or purchase, prejudicing or restricting in any manner whatever their liberty in this respect."

There is no limitation in the article of this clause, and it will probably be interpreted to authorize the retail sale of liquor, which has heretofore been prohibited except in Honolulu.

The third article says:

"It is agreed that documents presented by French subjects in their own language shall be admitted in every case in which documents in the English language may be admitted, and the business to which the documents drawn up in said language may relate shall be dispatched with the same good faith and care; but whenever a translation is presented about the accuracy of which a difference may arise, the same shall be referred to the French Consul for his revision and certificate of approval."

At present English is the language of all the high executive, judicial and legislative offices, and English documents are received by the Courts, Custom-Houses and Legislative bodies, as in the language of the country. But the French is a language foreign to the knowledge of the people. This requirement that French documents shall be received and translated at the expense of the Government, and the translation be subject to the approval of the French Consul, may prove a very troublesome one, and then it will extend under the "most favored nation" claim, to many other nations, such as Chili, Peru and Denmark; and the Government may have to employ translators of Spanish and Danish as well as of French.

Article sixth provides that

"The subjects of the two countries shall be free to acquire and to possess real estate, and to dispose, as may suit them, by sale, donation, exchange, will, or in any other way whatever, of all the property which they may possess in the respective territories; also the subjects of either of the two States who may become heirs of property situated in the other, may succeed without hindrance to those of said properties which may devolve upon them even *ab intestato*, and dispose of them according to their pleasure; and the said heirs or legatees shall not be subjected to any charges of transfer or deduction, and shall not be bound to pay any expenses of succession or others higher than those which shall be borne, in like cases, by the natives themselves."

This is a decided advance in treaty-making. Such a clause should be in all treaties. The property of Americans who may die intestate in the Hawaiian Islands will go to their heirs in foreign countries—under "the most favored nation" clause, while the Kanakas will enjoy no such privilege in California, and I presume not in most other States of the Union.

Article tenth provides that the Hawaiian Government shall not impose an import duty of more than $3 per gallon on French brandy. Heretofore the duty has been $5 per gallon. It is no doubt a limitation of Hawaiian independence for France to dictate, as she really has done, how much tax may be imposed upon French brandy. Besides, this reduction will, it is supposed, cause a loss of $20,000 or more to the annual revenue of the kingdom. In 1856, the revenue derived from the tariff in French brandy amounted, at $5 per gallon, to $54,775, and in 1857 to $30,570. At $3 a gallon, the amount of revenue from the same source, provided the importation does not increase, will be about $36,000, or $20,000 less than under the $5 rule. Now, $20,000 is a considerable sum for the Hawaiian treasury to lose.

In article fifteenth it is agreed that

"The vessels-of-war, steam vessels belonging to the State, the packet boats engaged in the postal service, and the French whale ships shall be subjected [in the ports open to foreign commerce] to the same rules as are or may be imposed on, and shall enjoy in all respects the same rights, privileges and immunities which are or may be granted to the same Hawaiian vessels and whale ships, or to those of the most favored nation."

This clause breaks down the advantages which Hawaiian whale ships now enjoy in the ports of the kingdom. The benefit will accrue to the Americans as well as to the French, and will probably do no harm to the Kanaka revenue.

Article seventeenth provides that

"Neither consuls, vice-consuls nor their 'elevés,' chancellors or secretaries, provided they are not engaged in business of any sort, but exclusively confine themselves to the fulfillment of their public duties, shall be subjected to appear as witnesses before the tribunals. When the justice of the country shall have need to take any judicial declaration, on their part it ought to require it of them in writing, or to proceed to their domicile to receive it *viva voce*."

This is an injudicious provision, similar to one which we have in a convention with France. It may give much trouble if a consul happens to be conceited or foolish.

Article twentieth stipulates that the consuls of each nation shall be the administrators of the estates of all their countrymen who may die intestate in the dominions of the other nation.

The treaty is to remain in force forever, unless abrogated by mutual consent, except as to the articles regulating the duties on imports and the privileges of ships of each country in the ports of the other—which articles are to be in force for 12 years.

The document was drawn up on the 29th Oct. 1857, but was not signed until the 4th Sept., 1858, and it is not yet finally ratified, but no doubt will be.

LATER FROM MEXICO.

By the arrival of the schooner H. E. Spearing, we have files of the Vera Cruz *Progreso* to the 22d inclusive.

On the subject of the route of Vidaurri, as already reported, we find nothing later in them. The account of the Zuloaga Government are discredited. The report of the triumph of Degollado over Casanova, at Guadalajara, is fully confirmed; and he is stated to have a well armed and equipped force of 5,000 men, and to be threatening Tulancingo.

Zuazua, on taking San Luis Potosi, banished the bishop and thirty priests to the Rio Bravo.

A forced loan of $90,000 had been imposed on the clergy of Morelia.

The Canton of Minatitlan is announced to be quiet under Constitutional rule. The Ayuntamiento of Tlacatalpam have passed a vote of thanks to the Juarez Government for making arrangements for the construction of a road from Minatitlan to the San Juan Pass.

Cobos, who had been seen with an escort to convey money to Echegaray, had been unable to effect his object, and was reported to have been ordered to return to the Capital. A person arrived at Vera Cruz reported that he had been seen at San Martin Texmelucan with about 200 men.

There had been some fighting in the neighborhood of Lagos, of which the Constitutionalists appear to have ultimately gained possession. A prize of $200,000 had been fallen in with by the captors, immediately previous, at a convent in the neighborhood.

Alatriste is reported at Tesuitlan, with a well-armed and equipped force of 2,000 men, and about to take the field against the Reactionists in Puebla.

In Chiapas, the cause of the Liberals is reported progressing. A small force routed a body of Constitutionalists, on the 18th ult., killing 16 and wounding 25.

A part of Gen. Alvarez's forces, under Gen. Jimenez, gained a victory on the 7th, over a Reactionist corps, in the neighborhood of Coatepec Costales. The death of Alvarez had been again reported and again contradicted.

Mazatlan had been declared in a state of siege by the Zuloaguero Government; and Gen. Espejo had handed over the command to Gen. D. Leon Yanez. The *Progreso* remarks that such changes as this are generally prophetic of the overthrow of the reactionary influence, and prays that so this may prove.

Tlascala had been taken by the Liberals, without an encounter, the reactionist forces abandoning it with all their arms, ammunition and provisions, on their approach.

A long account is published of the execution after of the assassins of San Vicente, in December, 1857, and of the particulars of their crime; but these are generally too well known to those who interest themselves in Mexican affairs to need repetition.

Mr. Forsyth, U. S. Minister, was expected at Vera Cruz on the 18th inst., to embark on the Plymouth for this country; but later papers give no account of his arrival.

The Juarez Government has published a decree allowing of the export from Vera Cruz of foreign goods free of duty, at any time, while the Government shall not occupy the capital, and either in the same or other comage. Only the importing parties themselves will be allowed this privilege. The money must be entered on the bill of lading, in the same manner as other commodities imported. [N. O. Picayune.

EXPULSION OF AN AMERICAN MISSIONARY FROM CENTRAL AMERICA.—The Rev. Mr. Crowe, a missionary to Central America from the American Baptist Union, has been expelled by the Government from the State of Salvador. In July last Mr. C. opened a school in San Miguel, but through the interference of the priests an attempt was made to drive him away, and he was ordered up to the capital. On his way he was seized by an armed force, taken down to Acajutla, and placed on board the Columbus, bound to Panama. The case, as represented by Mr. Crowe himself, appears to be one of great hardship on his part, and unjust persecution on the part of the authorities of these States. Independent of the anxiety which he has had to undergo, his health has been seriously impaired by his imprisonment in a close, damp room at Acajutla, and he has been compelled to leave all his property behind him. [Boston Journal.